/105 cont.7

526 for Pedro; to hang on by the tail of a cow rushing out at top speed and to maintain this seat as long as possible during the gigantic leaps -- that was something to laugh about.

533 As soon as darkness set in, the music-making began. The [177] Bakaïrí had learned from the colonist of Mato Grosso to carve [534] guitars for themselves, and they played them with enthusiasm. They improvised short "verses" in praise of dogs, bananas, the 534 moon, a house, etc. One evening they showed up with

142 291 302

André

534 their original and peculiar tribal instruments. Characteristically enough, they had hidden them nearby in the forest.

They were large and small flutes, the meni and the kyanuaɾɾʌ. The latter has nothing special; it is made out of [824] bamboo, one might say bassoon-like. The meni, made out of vinhatico wood, is a little over a meter long; it is held with the feet. On the upper section there is a small hole into which the player blows. Not far below it there is a square opening in the tube, just as there is a series of smaller ones in the lower part.

533 The music is simple, but has to be learned. It consists of five tones,

/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakaïrí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo; see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buritĩ /see the glossary, p. 170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with buritĩ leaves.
[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhào de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhào de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandĩ. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[057] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[283] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú [Cf. glossary on p. 170 --Analyst]

/124 cont./

123 283 241 [372] [251] and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is twisted into thread with the spindle. The cotton plants stand between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roça," the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakairí plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was 272 excellent; the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to exclamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between 249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

342

Old-style hut.

[249] ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms: Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luisa was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta 354, Pareci lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks 482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six 412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca: hard little spikes from 824 the rib of the buriti leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and
[262] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions; "they have beijús," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[411] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree
824 -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/
[973] of the legend created the Bakaïrí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been
[137] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and: "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

361 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in
342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes
[291] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakaïrí. "Kyulino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakaïrí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a parson," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/163 cont./

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135

1. (cont.)
magnetite, in which are embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules.

415 Tall storage baskets of biconcave profile (one meter 40 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide at the top), wound with brown bast bands and lined in the interior with maize
412 leaves, contain the flour and are very stout. The grating boards on which the mandioca is pulverized are about 115 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide.

415
531

Gourd-vessel (drinking-vessel) designs of the Bakaïrí.

251 High up a great quantity of dusty corncobs.

532
[353]
[824] A number of strange dolls, which hang down from the vault on long strings, seem the most striking; they are plaited out of maize leaves: turkey-sized birds, projecting wings made out of one leaf and circularly twisted legs with three toes; others are slender, human-like figures, /164/ a small head on top, broken up below into narrow frippery. In our house we found two lizards made of grass, whose four feet come together in a ring, so that one can put them on one's head.

2: Steinen--1 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/Chapter I-III, pp. 1-45, including Fig. 1 and Plates II and III, are omitted in the translation./

/46/

Chapter IV.

First Encounter with the Indians.

Bark canoes. Traces of Indians. My trip with Antonio and Carlos. Animal life. Reverie before supper. Mouth of the Ponekuru. Cataracts. Signs of colonization increase. Chief Tumayaua. To the first Bakaïrí village. Arrival of the "Karaiben."

After tapping several times in vain, Antonio found a jatobá (Hymenaea sp.) with serviceable bark. A pole scaffold is erected around the tree; a long rectangular strip of bark is loosened with ax blows and, carefully taken down, is placed on low supports; then the bark is made pliable with heat, a fire being lighted underneath and twigs also set afire on top, and the edges of the longitudinal sides are bent upward. In front a point is formed; in the rear the bark is pushed forward toward the inside to produce a slightly hollowed out bulkhead with acute-angled edges, at which the bark is soon likely to split. The canoe was to be finished in a day and brought to the water the next morning.

Antonio came home from his work noticeably pleased. I believed it was because the canoe had turned out well. I talked to him about it for a while and then, referring once more to our plans, said: "So you are not afraid that the river is without inhabitants?" "No," he replied in dismissal, "I've already found a rancho." "Why didn't you say so?" "Well, I intended to." In looking for wood for the oars, he had discovered a collapsed hunting-hut covered with palm straw; its posts showed the blunt gash-marks of a stone ax. Beside it lay charred logs still in the radial arrangement of the Indian campfire; adjacent jatobás had been tested with stone axes for their usefulness, a still recognizable path led through the brush to a "harbor" on the river. Antonio thought it was probably a year ago that the visitors had stopped here.

/56 cont./

114 Bakaïrí, against such views about their characteristics as are
157 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

159 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakaïrí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips; shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small; it consisted of two large
342 round houses, in each of which several families lives, and a
392 small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
422 took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "tadra," an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
407 manioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
251 long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a
241 few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
489 sort of avenue of stately piké trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
32 the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
824

/57 cont./

487 the northeast a wide path through tall sapé grass, with which the
[824] houses are covered, to the river rapids below, toward the south
361] a path to the mandioca planting, and everywhere tall forest moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

162 The community numbered nine men, seven women, five
621 children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief,
551 our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl.
[463] 6),[1] Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakuai, the shrewd carpenter and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Yapü, the fat one, Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kulekule,
[574] Luchu (Pl. 6), and Pauhaga. After a few days a couple of visitors came from the second village, among them one whose parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered: "pehdeo ira" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus
162 I have had to /58/ invent my own designations here. there was,
621 as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who, with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the "tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left).[2] Her antithesis was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnificently strongly built Kulekule, who, before I knew his name, seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red loam color.
[142] Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant fire, with a full, naïvely tender upward glance, glowed that spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled the eternal fires of the universe. thus, with a body never mistreated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother Eva. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often.

[1] [See P. 40--Analysis?]
[2] [See P. 25--Analysis?]

/175 cont./
the cut desired by him, went a step further and cut off at the roots a part of the hair falling down in back and on the sides. The additional advantage connected with this was that, during combing, the hair could easily be evenly distributed on all sides. The tonsure of the Indians extended chiefly downward over the back of the head (cf. Fig. 14 /see p. 170/). The Suyá men, on the other hand, with their tonsure of Apostle Paul, went further in the removal of the hair falling over the forehead and, instead, wore their hair hanging down to their shoulders

Fig. 11. Bakaïrí girl.

in back or knotted up. Long back hair and the crown tonsure do not occur together. Copying the priests was not required for this simple procedure.

/176/ All the other body hair, with the exception of the eyebrows, was shaved or unhesitatingly plucked out. The lashes were not, as among the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, placed on a tucum thread and torn out all at once with a jerk, but were pulled out one by one at the earliest age of the children. The shaving of the tonsure was done with a tip of spear grass. these razor blades were kept planted near the house. The hair was cut with the teeth of the piranha fish. I never saw among

/182 cont./

*171 301 321 Another type consists of small disks or smooth beads only one millimeter thick and three to five millimeters in diameter. They are evenly circular, with a dull, whitish-gray to bluish sheen. The little pieces of the broken shell were bitten off with the teeth, made approximately even in size, and were pierced like the squares. The tiny little things are so evenly ground /183/ that on the string they form a thin, flexible coil. [824] They are usually alternated with similarly shaped tucum beads (Bactris), which are bitten out of the shell of the palm nut. The tucum beads are likewise pierced with the tooth of the dogfish. For these and the small shell disks, the evenness is achieved by stringing the beads and, not grinding the roll on a stone, but rubbing and smoothing it between two pot sherds. The shell beads are a very natural product, if colored or shiny pieces of shell are saved at all, they are strung on a cord, since they are hard to fasten otherwise, and they are matched up, which is most easily accomplished if one simply grinds them *171 301 439 all around. In this way the most diverse primitive peoples, with their respective shell material, have arrived at beads that look so much alike as to be mistaken for one another. The beads, however, also have all the characteristics required to circulate from tribe to tribe wherever intercourse takes place and provide the best opportunity to become acquainted with the extent of the intercourse, which some regard as unlimited. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy, more than those of the Kulisehu, are "aõto," lords, of the shell chains.

*171 301 The tucum beads are made chiefly by the Nahuquá; the latter had as shell beads the rose-colored little spindle pieces of Bulimus in particular, whose "aõto" they were, a single one of which interrupted the coil of the nut beads at short intervals. The Nahuquá were distinguished by a great wealth of chains, especially of plant material, which, moreover, also played a more important role among the Bakaïrí than among the tribes living downstream. The Bakaïrí of Maigéri greatly prized [824] "grass beads," kanakõni, which Antonio explained were fruits of a tall, rare grass growing along lagoons, each stalk of which produces only a few.

2: Steinen--1712 D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 -SP? Bacairi SP?
Trumai SP?3

/183 cont./

We found pieces of malva, pieces of bark, seed kernels, and berries of the most diverse kinds: nut beads from the large and the small tucum palm, fruits of a climbing plant, of a campo tree takipé, of a plant called (Bakairí) udeyíki, red and black seeds of Papilionaceae, of mamona (Ricinus), snake beans (Dioclea violacea), among the Aweté gourd seeds and almonds kernels, and even a small, bottle-shaped gourd seven centimeters long.

Among the Yaulapiti, Trumaí, and, coming from them, among their neighbors, nose chains were frequent, pierced disks and cylinders which the Nahuquá imitated in the amber-like jenipá resin and in clay. It was the diversion of the men asses and throwing-stick arrows /kurhuka-tikiu/; it was pierced with the nose chip fastened to the twirling stick and the addition of sand. Small, pear-shaped stones, such as go with the darts /kurikeiku/, are popularly hung on children's chains by the Mehinaká and Aweté.

Thus there were distinct differences in the material, which were probably, as is certainly the case with the stones, locally conditioned. All chains made of white shell pieces went back to the Bakairí, all those of red to the Nahuquá, all those made of stones to the Trumaí or Yaulapiti.

/184/ Animal material was found everywhere. There were horn beads and bone beads, the latter also in the form of little rods; they were sometimes strung on individually, sometimes joined for whole chains, especially monkey teeth and jaguar teeth. Cf. the illustration of the Aweté chief, page 80. Among the Nahuquá we procured a chain with jaguar teeth and small, colored feathers. The Trumaí joined capybara teeth. Among the Mehinaká in particular there was an abundance of children's ornaments, which were hung in bunches on infants besides the others, monkey teeth in particular, teeth of the jaguatirica (Felis mitis), fish vertebrae, bone of the bagadi fish, once a huge, black beetle-horn. Also claws or hoofs of the tapir (Kamayurá), jaguar, and deer.

/184 cont./

With this the most essential constituents of the chain ornaments have probably been enumerated. In the later chapter on the plastic art of our Indians I shall come back to details, insofar as all kinds of figures were also carved and ground.

I am unable to say to what extent useful and therapeutic effects were attributed to individual objects. That the "ornament" was often "talisman" is shown by the fact that, as mentioned, children and pregnant women were the most bedecked. If the remains of a matchbox were also hung around, this, too, did not originate from a sense of beauty. The green beads of the Bakairí greatly resembled fine fish-bones, but I obtained such a chain only with the greatest difficulty. In the eyes of their owners they were decidedly "more beautiful" than those with fish beads, because they were rarer.

Daubing and painting. Why do the Indians daub themselves with oil color, either with black, like those who are less familiar with the urucu bush, or with red, as the others prefer? To frighten the enemy by means of display and disfigurement? This is certainly a practical use, but only for this particular instance.

Could the love of color explain everything? If so, we are obliged to recognize the delight in black as a primary sensation of pleasure. In that case we should have to note with amazement that a natural source has eluded our Indians, a source used so profusely in Polynesia, for example, and one that is abundantly available for this purpose even in the river-forest area which is relatively poor in flowers -- neither men nor women adorned themselves with flowers. I believe the only question that Antonio asked me of his own initiative was the following in Cuyabá: "Why do the women wear flowers in their hair?" The idea that it is done in order to adorn oneself with gay colors was worlds removed from his way of thinking. No, the gay parrot feathers only later developed into colored ornaments. First came the pleasure in the hunt or in animal life and the beautifulness concerning the hunter's

/187 cont./

* 1971 302 daubing. The cotton bands wound the upper arm or lower leg offered a not unpopular motif. One day I saw on the Bakaïrí Kulekule, who was an enthusiastic admirer of mine, a black horseshoe-like arc below either nipple, and when I jokingly asked him what it was, to my surprise he pointed to my boots, which impressed him very much: he had painted the heels on himself. A veritable work of art was displayed by a young Aueto who was solemnly decked out for the journey with us to Cuyabá -- his father ordered him to accompany us --, but who left us already among /188/ the Mehinakú, in spite of a pot of flour that had been given to take along as provisions. The meresehu lozenge-pattern, which I shall subsequently discuss in greater detail, covered his chest and sides down to the middle of the calves, in contrast to which the lower half of his face and the sides of his neck from the ear to the collarbone stood out with a coating of pure, deep black. Otherwise it was primarily on the festive occasion of a reception or, as among the Nahuquá, for the dance that people decorated themselves with designs. In everyday life there was practically nothing to be seen, just as little as of feather ornaments. When I appeared with my traveling companions from Independencia, almost all of the Bakaïrí of the first village, including the women, received us in a painted state. the smaller grandsons of Tumayaua had been carefully smeared over their whole bodies, and Tumayaua told me specifically that we were supposed to see how pleased the women were.

* 1971 304 Scratch-scars. Scratching the skin is a sort of panacea. It is used on young and old and in the same way among all the tribes. With the /Fig. 15 appears here/ scarifier, a triangular piece of gourd shell set with a row of small, pointed teeth of fish (trahira) or claws of rodents (aguti), the skin is scratched, allowed to bleed for a while, which is helped by stroking with a bone, and is then rubbed either with yellow loam or with soot or the juice of a fruit (nanmáo among the Aueto). One sees the scratch-scars everywhere, especially on the arms. Actual

B /189 cont./
#191 pattern [illegible] of a cast-off, galloned uniform, visited his rediscovered
304 brother: in name, along with Antonio, after our first expedition:,
he told me that he was asked to go to the Kustenaú /Custenau/
and have himself tattooed. "But I didn't want to," he told me,
"after all, I have my galloon."

Tattooing is limited to the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ tribes,

A
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302
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Fig. 16. Kamayurá woman with scratch-scars.

B
#191 namely, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Kustenaú, Waurá, and
304 Yaulapiti -- to tribes who are fond of blackening their bodies,
who could thus best observe the coloring of the scratches -- and
is occasionally laid claim to by the neighboring Bakairí. It is
B done in earliest childhood with the thorn of a bromelia, gavarú,
[324] the tooth of the dogfish, soot or the juice of the tanumá fruit
serves for the color.

/205 cont./

*171 237 412 [325] be broken off evenly. A scarcely less important tool was furnished by the peixe cachorro, or dogfish, called Cynodon zoological-ly, which has in its lower jaw two pointed teeth three to three and a half centimeters long, each projecting upward through a hole. The edge of these teeth, ground knife-sharp, was used for cutting, but chiefly for puncturing, for example, in connection with tattooing, for scratching, for example, in decorating the tortoise spindle disks, and for boring reeds, as in the case of the arrows, in order to put through the threads for fastening the feathers and [304] points. /206/ The triangular pieces of gourd which, as the scarifier, represented the most important instrument in the little surgery of the Indians, cf. Figure 15 /see p. 179/, were studded with the small, pointed teeth of the trahira fish, Erythrinus. The [305] little teeth of the agutí, Dasyprocta aguti, served the same purpose. Of the rodents, the capybara, Hydrochoerus capybara, fur-[284] nished indispensable scraping chisels with the front teeth of its lower jaw; the tooth, six to eight centimeters long, was fastened to a piece of ubá reed with cotton thread, or two teeth were lashed together and cemented with a little wax. /Figs. 23-26 appear here./ The arrow holes were likewise bored with the agutí tooth. [301] Monkey teeth, pierced at the root and artfully plaited together into a chain, were a favorite belt or neck ornament.

[411] Bones. Arm and leg bones of monkeys, which were kept in thick bundles in the little tool basket at home, served as arrow-heads. They were ground to shape and, with their hollow tubes, mounted on the stick between the arrowhead and arrow shaft. The tail radiation of the ray was likewise an arrowhead. Small, pointed [309] bones were added as barbs. /207/ Mammal bones had many uses; the skin treated with the scarifier was rubbed with the thigh bone of the deer; we saw a splinter of a jaguar bone pointed to pierce ear lobes; the wax smeared over the lashing on arrowheads was applied with a bone. The front claws of the giant armadillo, [325] Dasypus gigas, served man, as well as the animal itself, for digging and grubbing up the ground and were the earth hoe of our Indians. The spindle disks in many cases came from the ventral piece of the tortoise shell, which was broken to pieces with a stone. Jaguar

/207 cont./

Jaguar

*171 claws were worn as neck chains, fish vertebrae on the belt cord;
237 a bone stuck crosswise through the nasal septum adorned the old
30 Bakaïrí.
304

Shells. Flat river shells were extensively used for cutting, less
*171 for cutting through than for scoring longitudinally, for scraping, planing,
237 smoothing. The work shells brought back from the Kamayurá /Fig. 27
412 appears here/ were identified by Herr Professor von Martens: tyutsí,
[305] Anodonta, was the shell for scraping the mandioca root, "maniôka pinâp":
[324]

Fig. 23. Dogfish.
(1/1 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 24. Piranha.
(1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

[284]
→

Fig. 25. Front claws of the giant armadillo. (Grubbing hoe.) (2/5 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 26. Capybara teeth. (Scraping chisel.) (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

the women sat on a couple of pieces of bamboo placed together, and
they scraped, scrubbed, scratched, until their legs disappeared in the
[322] heap of parings. This shell also served as a plane to smooth the handle
of the stone ax or the oar by means of finer scraping, not with the edge.

/209 cont./

#117 24 245 Category B could probably be considerably enlarged. It depended on the need. The fruit trees under this were planted with great care. I have mentioned that in the first Bakaïrí village there was a sort of avenue of pikí trees; the Nahuquá cultivated this species with great enthusiasm. The mangabas were popular and thrive especially well among the Bakaïrí, among the Kamayurá, and in particular, as was reported to me, among the Waurá, so that the Trumaí word "wauraŕi" seems to mean simply the Waurá fruit. The fruta de lobo was less frequently found near the village. Then, however, plants which they needed in any way for their implements and weapons were set out as required, if they did not occur in the vicinity of the village. Thus they transplanted near the village the spear grass growing in swampy soil, with which they shaved themselves, the bast plants that /210/ furnished them thread, occasionally perhaps also the sapé grass with which the houses were covered. Most interesting, however, it seems to me, is the assurance that they planted the ubí arrow reed in larger quantities on the Batovy, so as not to have to fetch it from distant places.

191 249 [302] [324] [248]

Besides casual inclinations and knowledge of management, the nature of the soil apparently played an important role. Tobacco grew excellently among the Suyá and the Aueto and was commonly smoked by the men, except in the first Bakaïrí village on the Batovy.* It plays an important part in medical

[296] 000

114 296 [113]

* This circumstance may have occasioned H. v. Ihering to say: "v. d. Steinen missed tobacco among the Bakaïrí of the Upper Schingú just as completely as bananas or metals" [Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 1893, p. 195]. I describe, cf. Durch Central-brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 173 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 55/, for Village III of the Batovy-Bakaïrí, the real part played by smoking, as the discoverers of the

/210 cont./

#171 174 241 place of habitation. After the experiences of the second expedition I can only find my opinion confirmed. This time we also met true Tupí who did not have bananas. Among the Kamayurá I sought in vain for the /211/ word "pakóba," which the lingoa geral has for banana; they were unfamiliar with it. I gladly withdraw the suggestion that this word might be derived from the Portuguese; I no longer set any store by arbitrary etymology; today, more than at that time, however, I must lay much greater stress on the fact that among the individual tribes the names for banana do not conform to the linguistic derivation, but to formless, local distribution. This is without precedent for the other useful plants. What is more, none of the first #824 discoverers mentions the banana, and the Aruak of the coast and the Island Karaiben reproduce the Spanish word "platano" so unmistakably in their "pšuane" and "balatanna" that there is absolutely no doubt about the agreement. Finally, if we fully appreciate the fact that in a lost corner we find representatives of all the large linguistic families with the most excellent names for all the cultivated plants, but without banana, that a splinter group of one of these tribes, and one associating with Europeans, the docile Bakaïrí, do have the banana and in their language, otherwise kept absolutely pure, simply call it "banana" (just like the Parecí, by the way), I believe that this proof is as forceful as negative proof can ever be. Humboldt and Martius let themselves be persuaded by the fact that they found the banana everywhere among the Indians, but this basis for their view has now become untenable, and the experiences of linguistics, as well as the actual absence of the banana in the entire region of the upper Schingú, undoubtedly justify the opinion of the botanist, Alphonse de Candolle, that the banana was introduced into South America, though probably very soon after the appearance of Europeans. [114]

#171 174 241 824 It is worthwhile, for a better evaluation of the linguistic methods of proof, to give an example. Let us consider the words for "pepper" among I, the Nu-Aruak, II, the Karaiben, and III, the Tupí.

/211 cont./

+171 174 241 • 824

I. On the Schingú, among the Nu-Aruak, pepper is called ſi, among the Maipure on the Orinoco ai, among the Moxos /Mojo/ in Bolivia atscheti, among the Aruak haatschi, among the women on the Island Karaiben ſti, for the Taino of the island of Haiti Oviedo gives axi, aji.

II. On the Schingú, among the Karaiben Bakaïrí, pepper is called pẽno (with a nasal ẽ), among the Nahuquá võme, hõmi, among the Island Karaiben pomi, pomui, among the Karaiben Orinoco tribes in Venezuela pomẽi, pomuey, in the Galibí generally widespread in Guiana pomi. Among the Palmella, a Karaiben tribe on the Madeira, apõmo.

III. From Tupí the Kamayurá on the Schingú have the word õkeõng, the Omagua on the upper Amazon ekei, the Guaraní in Paraguay kiy; the lingoa geral has kyiá, kyinha, etc.

These phonetic equivalents, which are absolutely certain within the tribal groups and which do not show the slightest compatibility from tribal group to tribal group, /212/ extend over more than half of South America and turn up in records that go back from 1887 to the middle of the sixteenth century. They teach us irrefutably that pepper was known since immemorial "prehistoric" times in each of the three tribal groups, whose remotest family members have preserved its equivalent on their wanderings, and none of them obtained it from any of the others. The situation with regard to the banana words cannot be reconciled with this. These congruities surprise us simply because we are caught up in the delusion, not only that the South American peoples represent a linguistic chaos, but also that these "hordes" to whom we were the first to bring metals are largely crude hunting peoples tossed hither and yon by unknown destinies, like rubble in rapids, somehow cemented together here and broken up in pieces there. In the clumsy masses which in our eyes make up the "Stone Age," however, we shall have to become accustomed to distinguishing a multitude of regular, neatly deposited cultural layers.

/223 cont./

*171 194 372 among the Schingú Indians, and I believe I shal be able to prove how their way of producing fire must have originated. It is the simplest one of the "fire drill," very widespread in America and other parts of the world, whereas in Polynesia a "stick" is rubbed in a "groove."

*171 372 /224/ The natives take two sticks not quiteas thin as a little finger, about three-fourths of a meter lon, and still covered with the bark that keeps them dry, andcut a small depression into one with a shell. While one ma lays this stick on the ground and keeps it firmly pressed down,a second man sets the other stick into the depression and twirl it with great speed between his hands which glide nimbly up and down on it. Through the twirling the little depression is enlrged, a fine dust is loosened, and this begins to glow and tomoke. Tinder is brought forth, blown upon, and immediatel the flame is there. The small depression now appears extremely smooth and charred on the surface. The process from start to finish does not take a minute. The one who twirls really exerts himself. It would be an exaggeration to make moe of it, although a person who is not practiced and allows smallpauses to occur, which is detrimental to the result, will not succed without a supreme effort. In an emergency, a single invidual will manage very well with the procedure by holding the stik firmly on the ground with his feet.

• [224] The fire sticks are usually two straight twis from the orlean bush or urucú, which have a light, porous wood. Other wood, too, has "fire in it," as the Indian understands, especially uhá and kambayuva, the two types of arrow reed. Inhe hunter on his way has no fire with him and needs it, he knows how to help himself: he breaks an arrow and drills one piece into the other. The arrow is precious, however, and rubbing is strenuous. We several times observed that the men on their way to the harbor and into the forest took along burning chunks from the smoldering clearing, which they later heedlessly tossed aside. On excursions that involved an absence from home for days they took along with them in the canoe a huge smoldering piece of dry rotten wood from the forest.

/224 cont./

The tinder is a light brown, fine meshed bast tissue which is furnished best by the young uakumá palm (a Cocos species). In the campo, tinder from the guarirobá palm (Cocos oleracea) or of dry grass and leaves also helps out. Its purpose is to furnish the flame with which one transfers the fire to the twigs. Ehrenreich reports from the Karayá /Caraja/, Im Thurn from the Warrau of Guiana, that their wood catches fire so easily that it does not need tinder: "it in itself furnishes the tinder."

As is seen, it is not necesary to have a hard and a soft wood for rubbing fire with the "drill" /Bohrer, borer, drill, auger/. The Schingú Indians always take only one kind; the Karayá drill bamboo in urucú.

We find the movement of twirling very difficult; indeed, we are scarcely acquainted with it in everyday life because our drills terminate in a screw, and we do not use it at all for drilling, but for mixing, for example, in the kitchen, to mix yeast or eggs with milk, or in connection with the preparation of a cocktail. It is easy to understand how the drilling and twirling of the natives originated. At first holes were made with a pointed tooth or bone. /225/ When the object was very resistant, a turning pressure against and into it was tried, and this gradually and naturally developed into the twirl-drilling, if only one worked steadily and evenly so as not to split the object, clamped it down securely so as not to lose the point drilled on, and thus had both hands to work with. This twirl-drilling is practiced by the Indian with a tooth or particle of stone fastened to a little stick (cf. p. 201) for all piercing of shells, bone, stone, armadillo carapace, and hard wood. One very often sees him occupied with it, using his feet as a brace. We are now, however, confronted with a riddle if we wish to explain how this fire-drilling with two pieces of wood could have originated. How did people happen to drill wood with wood if they were not purposely setting out to "invent fire?"

It has been said in all seriousness that in grinding or drilling tools out of wood, bone, and stone, people found by experience that friction produces warmth, they observed that the warmth increases the harder the rubbing, and they then tried to rub

/228 cont./

fire-maker. I also remembered the stick of pressed dry cow dung which is allowed to glow for many hours on the decks of Indian ships for the use of smokers. Perhaps a corresponding use of wood dust is to be found here and there. Wood shavings were used by us in historical Germany up to the beginning of this century, along with flint and steel.

V. Weapons, Implements, Industry.

Bows and arrows. Throwing stick. Club. Canoe. Fishing implements. Plaiting and textile work. Buriti and cotton hammocks. Gourd vessels. Pottery.

I have reported on the settlements, the way of life, and the tools of our Indians, insofar as they present peculiarities. What remains to be said about one implement or another will follow naturally within the framework of the description of arts and crafts, which, on account of the many new things, requires a special survey. On the other hand, it is advisable to say a little more about the appearance and the use of the weapons, as well as about the simplest craft skills.

Bows and arrows are the only weapon common to all our Indians. Clubs are used among the Suyá and Trumaí. Nowhere are there lances. Nowhere blowgun and poisoned arrows. Only the sorcerer has a kind of theoretical poisoned arrow when, as we shall see, he secretly and with powerful witchcraft hurls poisoned twigs at his victim; at any rate, the idea of a projectile poison comes before us here.

/229/ Bow and arrow are distinguished by their size, the arrows by the extremely neat and pleasing workmanship. The length of the bows is more than two and a third meters, that of the arrows one and a half to almost two meters. The wood of the bow is yellowish or light brown and comes from the aratá tree, Tecoma, and others. We found palm wood in only a few bows of the Tupí tribes; here, too, the bow was plaited round with cotton in an attractive pattern, something unknown among the other tribes. The bowstring is twisted out of tucum fiber.

/229 cont./

#171 411 The arrow is by no means a simple work of art; if one compares the arrows of our tribes, among whom an ethnographic leveling has taken place, with the arrows from neighboring regions, one always notices, on careful examination, differences of material or technique. The arrows of the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, those of the Karayá /Caraja/ in the east toward the Araguay /Araguaia/, those of the Paressí in the west, those of the Bororó in the south, as well as those of the Yarumá, always have their distinct characteristics. Like comparative linguistic research, it is possible to carry on comparative arrow research. When we came to a new tribe we often saw with what interest the specimens brought along from the neighbors were examined and judged. aside from our clothes, nothing seemed stranger to these people than our lack of bows and arrows. If it is difficult to understand how the Indian imagines that his culture heroes created the individual tribes by bewitchment of the arrow reed that they stuck into the ground, nevertheless it is easy to understand the basic idea that the arrow is the characteristic mark of the tribe. the great sorcerer also chooses for each tribe the type of reed that distinguishes its arrows. The kambayuva reed furnishes more delicate, thinner shafts than the ubá reed. the docile Bakairí, since they have made the acquaintance of rifles, have given up the ubá reed commonly used on the upper Schingú and now have, if not exactly toy arrows, at any rate small arrows in comparison with those of the Schingú. The bows, (1.70 meters), too, have become smaller.

#171 411 259 The simplest arrow consists of the feathered reed shaft and, driven into it, a thin stick of wood which protrudes a third of a meter and is slightly pointed. Below the point there is sometimes fastened a small barb, for which a small tooth or preferably the maxillary spike of the great ant-bear is used. Or else a long piece of hollow cylindrical bone from monkey arm or leg bones, whole bundles of which are collected at home and the bone ground down, is driven onto the wooden point at the top. Wax, which is applied with a bone, is used as a binding agent. The ray spine also makes an arrow point. Finally, the barb may be made by placing a curved, double pointed piece of bone into the

2: Steinen--243E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

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191
411

/234 cont./
corresponded exactly to the Karayá club found among the Yuruna in 1884; a dark brown staff chamfered vertically all around, sharply grooved, lopped off bluntly at top and bottom, with a smooth intermediate piece for the hand. The Yuruna in that case, and the Kamayurá here, had transformed the murder weapon into a peaceful walking stick. One must admit that the defense weapons of the men on the Kulisehu do not point to warlike habits.

B
* 171
501
[824]

Fig. 29. Bakaïrí oar. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The canoes are commonly made from the bark of the jatobá, as I described it in the case of our vessels. See Plates 10 and 11 /see pages 109 and 121/. A Bakaïrí canoe measured in 1884 had the following measurements: length eight meters, width in the center 64 centimeters on top, 56 centimeters below, depth 24 centimeters, width of stern 63 centimeters, thickness of bark 11 to 21 millimeters. On our second journey we saw longer specimens, and the ark which we acquired among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ was considerably wider, was, in fact, unique in its corpulence. The Bakaïrí canoes that had to travel in the shallower river bed strewn with stones were somewhat shallower than those farther downstream. Among the Yaulapiti the rim was turned over slightly.

B
[531]

The oar, somewhat over a meter long, consisted of a slightly hollowed-out blade 60 centimeters long and ten centimeters wide,

/237/

*171 251 252 is covered with more small sticks, so that a triangular horizontal grill is formed. The fish are opened with a longitudinal slash along the middle line and a crosswise cut on the side; the flap is opened, the entrails removed, and the fish are placed on the roasting rack.

*171 285 • [824] Plaiting. The material was furnished by the bakayuva, buriti, akuri, and carandazinha palms, bamboo cane, and Maranta stalks, which were split, the climbing palm urumbamba (Desmoncus), and the indispensable vines. The men were the ones who plaited. They used both feet to help out, one foot holding the transverse stalks, the other the longitudinal ones. The basket plaiting was not on a high level. There were little standing and hanging baskets, closely plaited and wide-meshed, in which odds and ends were stored, fish carried, and the like, but there was no advance beyond the generally familiar forms. Some variety was achieved by plaiting in black-colored stripe. The Mehinaki and Aueto had larger, rectangular, trough-like standing baskets, which were characterized by a neat appearance, were also decorated with tassels at the corners, and were used to store gourds and the like. The Mehinaki called these baskets mayáku, a word which the

Fig. 31.
Carrying basket. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/240 cont./

The hammocks of pure cotton were a specialty of the Bakaïrí; among them, too, buriti hammocks could be found even on the Kulisehu. The strongest cloth was made by the Aweti. The hammocks for small children among the Nahuquá were peculiar: merely a bundle of stalks tied together at the top and bottom and hung up.

Thus, the most varied forms existed and were in the process of becoming uniform. The Suyá were still sleeping on large palm-straw mats following the custom of the Gês. When we visited them, they were on the point of adopting the hammock; they had a few specimens and were weaving some themselves. Perhaps the art came from the Trumaí women whom they had with them. After my journey of 1884 I pointed out the parallelism between the Schingú region and the Guianas, namely, that in both areas the cotton hammock seems to be native to the Karaïben, the palm-fiber hammock to the Nu-Aruak, and that furthermore this ethnographic conformity corresponds exactly to the linguistic one. In both cases, the technique arises from plaiting, only the material is different. The Bakaïrí were the most backward: they did not have the cloth-like fabric. It is also striking that their spinning wheels, although they completely fulfilled their purpose, were less artistic than among the other tribes.

A parallel technique was shown in a type of sieve-mat. The stalks were covered more or less closely with cotton yarn, so that stiff and at the same time very flexible, tight mats were produced, between which the manihot was pressed dry. We also saw pieces of cloth used for the same purpose.

Gourd vessels. The fruits of Cucurbita cuyeté /C. cuyeté/ and the cucurbit Lagenaria provide vessels of the most diverse shapes. There are some that are bell-shaped, cucumber-shaped, bottle-shaped, hourglass-shaped, as well as many others of an irregular nature. After cutting them in two one obtains correspondingly shaped bowls. The green fruits are tied into the desired shape, the hourglass shape, in particular, is a product of this method. In order /Pl. XV appears here/ /261/ to divide them

(TEXT CONTINUES ON P 254)

2. Steinen--2548 p-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi SP7
Waura, SP15
Mehinaku

/241 cont./

into bowls, the fresh fruits are wound with palm fiber and scratched along it with a shell. If a bowl cracks during use, it is sewed. the small holes are bored with the pointed tooth of the dogfish and the sewing is done with a buriti thread rubbed with wax, the knots of which are cut off close to the shell by the tooth edge ground knife-sharp. The drawings that decorate the surface are incised with the same tooth, unless one prefers to burn them in with a red-hot stick. The drinking bowls and small ladle-gourds or spoons are given a coating of black lacquer on the inside. The lacquer is the soot of the charred buriti shaft mixed with the yellow, sticky liquid extract of the grated rind of the ochoguhi tree from the campo cerrado /densely covered campo/. Special small, spherical gourds served to hold the oil with which the body was rubbed and were closed with a stopper. the Bakairi called the fruit pény. They sometimes hung in a closely plaited net. I shall consider the rattle gourd in connection with the dance music.

Pottery. In the chapter on the "Stone Age" culture, cf. pages: 217 ff., I have discussed in detail the origin of the pots in our region, the monopoly of the Bu-Aruak tribes, and the manufacture limited to only the female sex. Only in the later chapter on the plastic arts, when the development of Indian art has become clear, shall I be in a position to speak of the ornamental aspect of the pots.

Three types of pot were distinguished according to size and purpose. First, the huge mawukiku of the Mehinaku, in which the grated manihot root was cooked. they had a diameter of almost three-fourths of a metre. We were unable to bring home any of these pots, but took a photograph among the Aueti, from which their shape and, since a man -- by rights it should have been a woman -- is squatting beside it, also their size are clear. Cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/. The largest and most attractive pots are furnished by the Waurá. For cooking they were set on three low clay rings of cylindrical shape and ringing at the bottom.

A second type, the cooking pot for fruit and small fish, had a diameter of 18-20 centimeters, a height of about 12 centimeters. it was round with rather deep, slightly bulging walls and sometimes had a rim two and a half centimeters wide and

2: Steinen--236 ED-5 (1904, 1907-1908) 1934 SI? Stecain 327 Wauja SI 8 Machado

/242 cont./

not have to build up the walls with thin clay cylinders put on top of one another as is ordinarily described. She smoothed the walls with a piece of gourd, not a stone. She modeled the ornamental edge-projections, which represented the body parts of an animal, and then put them on; she scratched in the eyes and nose with a little bamboo rod. An old broken-out bottom of a beiju pan is popularly taken as a model for the bottom of the pot.

The clay is whitish-gray to grayish-yellow. Only the Waurá pots have a pretty, light red clay. The new pot is properly dried in the sun and then turned upside down on a very sooty fire; for that they use the green bark of a campo tree which the Bakairí call kundro, or of the guanandí (Calophyllum) smeared with sticky resin. Thus the pot, like the gourd, is blackened on the inside.

/243/

Chapter X.

1. Drawing.

Origin from the drawing gesture. Descriptive drawing older than artistic drawing. Sand drawings. Pencil drawings. Explanation of the plates. Profile position. Proportions. Number of fingers. Back drawings.

The simplest drawing that we can observe is probably the one directly connected with an explanatory gesture. Just as the native, to demonstrate the sense of hearing, cleverly reproduces the characteristic voice sounds of an animal and is always tempted to do this in connection with any lively narrative, so also, with respect to the sense of sight, he imitates the animal in pose, walk, movements and, for better understanding, draws any peculiar body parts, such as ears, snout, or horns, in the air, or he outlines his own corresponding body parts with his hand. The drawing gesture is exactly parallel to the imitation of animal voices. As soon as this procedure is no longer adequate, however,

Stolen 291 E,D-5 (1894, 1897-1898) 1894 SPT Bacaini SP7

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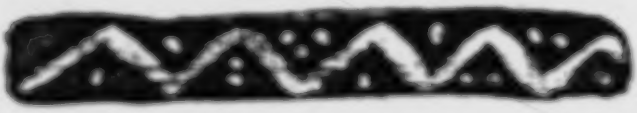
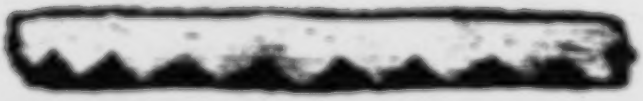
11. Iberya snake.



12. Agau snake with head.

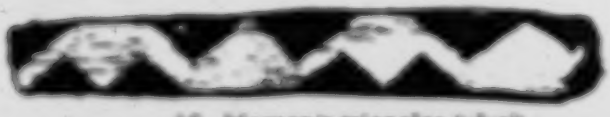
13. Women's triangle. 14. Mazinchem. 15. Kuimasi.

931



14. Women's triangles (ulusi).

15. Women's triangles (ulusi).



16. Women's triangles (ulusi).

[924]

17. Palmate leaves.

Bakalf ornamentation II.

/258 cont./

531 that one could not expect delicate lines in these fresco daubings.
825 When I sought to enlarge my word list with the names of the decorations, I was surprised to hear several fish names familiar to me, whereupon I went to the heart of the matter. For each design I was given the name of a concrete original, and the more we concerned ourselves with the decorations on household utensils here and among the other tribes, the more we discovered that there was the same procedure everywhere. Ehrenreich then pursued the problem [114] further among the Araguay /Araguaia/ Indians and there, to my delight, found only confirmation.

On the two plates 20 and 21 /see pp. 280-281/, Bakaïrí ornamentation I and II, which give characteristic samples of all the bark pieces, we see first of all in Numbers 14 and 15* two

* On Plate 21, as the result of an oversight, the numbers 14 and 15 occur twice.

well-drawn fish, the frequently mentioned, favorite fish of the Bakaïrí, the matrincham, and the many-boned kurimatá, /259/ Salmo curimatá. They are painted on with reference to the entire surface. The noróku ikúto, "picture of the matrincham," was set down with positive elegance and dash. Next to it, in No. 13, we have an ulúri ikúto, a picture of the woman's triangle. And in this manner each decoration was said to be an ikúto. Sometimes individual ones are set apart by short vertical lines; cf. 3 and 4 or 7 and 8 on plate I /see p. 280/. Only a single picture is taken from the vegetable kingdom, No. 17. It represents the leaves of [824] a small, "cabbage" yielding forest palm, yemariáli, a word that means hand-leaf. We see a number of twin pinnae pointing alternately up and down and arranged exactly like the uluris in No. 16; to us the figure gives the impression of a plaiting design.

Our attempts at interpretation, however, would soon come to grief. We observe among the decorations some in which the natural skin markings of an animal are reproduced, some in which the outlines of the animal are drawn, and some in which both are combined. No. 6 has the dotted and spotted markings of a sheatfish, schurúi, whose spotted skin has given rise to the Portuguese name

/300 cont./

535 káuayú, mauškauayú hohohú. aluš...aluhš,
539 aluš miyevené yanšvizá hõ...ohohohú. ihohõ...
hohú, he..hirámiturí hohõ, yukévenš yohõ
hohohohú. Now all in circular motion. ohú
namiturí ohú namituhurí ohoyócho yóchu hohuhõ.
ayarívénení kayarílõ ohó naminurí ohú
namituhurú ohõ oyochó yochu. Now out on the
plaza: yochó huyócho huyóchó huyóchohú
huyócho. makavó makavó yuušvitirá inšvitíhanš,
iná yochohuyócho..... Finally, turning around
aschimámayú ohuhohú ayavarilú hohuhoo,
eveschírini mahúranf hoo, aschimámayú ohohu.....

535 was impossible for me to obtain a translation or even an explana-
533 tion of the content. He said that he himself no longer understands
the old words. I believe there was some truth in this, and that he
was not merely, in his awkwardness, handing me an excuse, be-
cause even aluš itself is not a Bakaïrí or Karaiben /Carib/ word at
all, but a Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. (See also the footnote, page
24.) Perhaps the text is also in part old Aruak -- no longer
understood /301/ after it had been sung together at joint festivals
and was taken over and mixed with Bakaïrí words.

535 The imeo makanari is common to all Bakaïrí. On the
Kulisehu imóto, imódo, is added as a related figure. Imeo is a
[825] white animal that lives in the dried-up buriti palm -- as far as
I understood, the larva of a palm-boring beetle. imodo, a re-
lated creature, reddish with a black head. A strange selection,
somewhat reminiscent of the Midsummer Night's Dream. It
● [824] is explained, however, if one remembers that the material for the
dance costumes is furnished primarily by the buriti palm, which
that insect inhabits. And this may be a tasty morsel besides.
/Fig. 91 appears here./ Other animals also appear in this
makanari, especially the bat and the pintado sheatfish, Fig. 91
/see p. 347/. The latter mask is easy to understand. A costume
plaited out of coarse, hard grass covers the body, but the wearer
can look through the plaiting without difficulty, and a long piece

/326 cont./ They had foot rattles, bunches of hard fruit shells, and in particular halved pilá seeds which the dancer wore tied around the ankle of the stamping foot. (Cf. Figure 90, page 344.) Clinking shell and nut-shell pendants that hung on cotton tassels from neck cords, the shell bundle of the fish makanari of the Bakairí, served the same purpose.

The rattle gourd containing seeds and pieces of mussel shells and pierced by a little bamboo stick, which was shaken rhythmically with the hand, had the same name as the foot rattles* among the Bakairí, Nahuquá, and Kamayurá. A strange

*kamitú among the Kamayurá, not marika as in Tupí, which among them means song and dance. Aweté tenú and foot rattle aimára, which could be related to marika.

sight for us when the adult people with great enthusiasm swing the musical instrument of our infants. One would seek in vain for the rattle among children. While we saw no rattle gourds among the Bakairí, they were very numerous among the Nahuquá and were provided with all kinds of decorations of small feathers, small lumps of wax, and cotton tassels. We also found a young turtle impaled on a small stick in place of the gourd, and among the Aweté even the blue, polished-looking egg of a gallinaceous bird, with a handle more than a third of a meter long. Occasionally there were two rattle gourds on one handle.

Bottle-shaped gourds were used for rhythmical stamping. Round ones with a bamboo tube inserted formed a sort of transition to the flute.

In the third Bakairí village and among the Kamayurá a hollow tree which lay on the ground was used as a drum.

Flutes. A hollow palm nut, six centimeters long, provided with two holes into which one blew, served as a little pipe. The most popular and accomplished flute, three-fourths to one meter long, six centimeters thick, was called mámi among the Bakairí, while among the rest of the tribes it

/319 cont./

All feather ornamentation, except for an occasional feather stuck in the ear, especially among the Bakairí, belongs to festive occasions, including the solemn reception. It is the same with the feathers as with the body painting.

Children's games. Among the Bakairí we saw catch-balls wadded together out of maize straw, instead of the usual long feather, a tail of maize straw was tied inside. There were rubber balls, huge ones, among the Auetö. The sap of a figueira /Ficus/ or the mangabeira is rolled into a little ball on the chest, steeped in water with ashes, and the ball punctured all around in such a way that on the outside it looks as though it were covered with plaiting. The balls are dyed red with urucú.

Tops were made from the unripe peanut (Arachis hypogaea) or amendoím. Twice as big as a cherry, it was pierced and pushed onto a small bamboo stick so that only a small part of the latter emerged, and here it was wound with a tuft of cotton flocks to prevent it from sliding off. The fruit would spin upward on the long handle. Several such tops were set in a pot and made to spin together.

We must count the wrestling described on page 93 among the games of the adults, but children liked to practice wrestling. The same was true, of course, of shooting the bow. We also saw children's throwing-sticks. Older children played with the heavy clay dolls. I was asked several times to perform a sort of test of strength in that I was supposed to lift a boy up in the air with my free arm. I may add here the observation that the Indians were unable to balance a pole on one finger.

/320/

Chapter XII.

I. Law and Custom. II. Magic.

I. Property. Kinship. Marriage. Morals. Barter. Names. Birth. Couvade and its explanation. Burial.

II. Sorcery in various stages and on various levels of culture. Dream explanation. Pajé pro toto. Good and bad medicine-men.

/343/

The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakairí and Auetó, more among the Nahuquá, many among the Mehinakú, and too many among the Kamayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to drink only starchy broth for four months,* enjoy no salt and eat no meat, fish, or fruits; one is not supposed to sleep but to drum constantly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship. Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher. The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

* This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village. The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing. He mixes the poison from wasps, from the scorpions ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the almecega and pindahybe in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jenahá, pindahybe, or pau de alho in his direction and then picking

/419 cont./

White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the huts in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women, when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thread. It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body; it also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the burití shaft is used.

The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds for scarification.

Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil from the pikí fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakaïrí call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stool. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock.

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

The theory that the color sense developed gradually for human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently

2: Steinen--514 E,D-5 (1894, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/422 cont./

boa-snake which Martius calls "viridis vel aureus Coluber cenchris L." The ordinary distinctions according to color, the number of which is smaller than one would expect, are black, white, red, and yellow. Without placing any importance on absolute accuracy, I count 28 birds, 23 fish, 9 mammals, 4 snakes, and 12 lower animals which are differentiated according to those four colors. But now two more words occur for "colorful" /*bunt*. "gay-colored, mixed, spotted"/, one of which, *pinima*, with the verb "to paint" of the same stem, is used for fish, three birds, the *jaguar*, one snake, one lizard, one crayfish, and the other, *paragua*, means simply "parrot" and also furnishes a parrot-fish and a parrot-snake. Pure "green" is always parrot-colored or parakeet-colored; where a "blue" is to be distinguished, the animal is also given the additional word *una* (burned) = black or dark.

It cannot be expressed more clearly that the Indian is induced to make a sharp color-distinction only when it is a matter of color qualities familiar to him from the dyestuffs, in other words, that his own experience, not his sense of color, furnishes the material for the sharply defined concepts.

The list of plant names by Martius, somewhat over 1000 in number, offers an interesting comparison. Eight plants are given the title black, 7 white, 7 red, 2 yellow. It is obvious that among the plants "green" does not form a distinguishing mark. Yet here, too, we come across on one occasion the *cigui* or "parakeet-colored," sometimes translated "green," sometimes "blue," and, to be sure, it corresponds to /422/ a specific blue, since it refers to *Indigofera anil* L. Three plants are "colorful," but "*pinima*"; the parrot-colorfulness (*paragua*) is lacking.

The natives could have obtained indigo from the plant just mentioned, but they did not know how. Martius asserts that in the manufacture of indigo the Brazilian industrialists use Indian labor, that it was first introduced by the Portuguese and produces a not very desirable kind. Campay-black has a blue tinge and thus corresponds very well to the referring of blue to black in the color designations. The blue of the tattooing also comes from the black.

/257 cont./

539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
125 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the
hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping":
in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks,
taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our
land (pp. 92, 98, 103, and 104), confirm what has been said
concerning the shadowy character of the Yamikas.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamikas, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by water when they did not yet have pottes, and that they probably had maracá before they had the masks with which they appear at their festivals.

539 We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
776 Yamika is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on the earth from which he derives his sustenance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an ominous being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his measurable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

778 Yamika does not like urucú,--this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the plain;--Yamika goes into the
• 129 houses of people with children,--this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--
fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves
with genipap,--paint themselves with urucú,--so Yamika
thinks that it is friends of the boy's father does not paint himself

/238 cont./

776 and goes to the river. Yamîka throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guaranâ /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
● 824 cotton seed makes Yamîka run far /239/ away; Yamîka is very
302 fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like copaiba
resin;--when jacubá is burned Yamîka does not like it, says
the piaki.

776 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his instruments /iron tools/, if it is
permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not
reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamîka should pro-
tect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacairi
764 would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose
injury is punished immediately: for example, the locust, in
one of the passages cited above, or the Tuyuîki, a little bird
that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. These are
truly tabû or tapî, an expression used in Anamalia, and which,
being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible
to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done
in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamîka in prepared
form the food that he would have to prepare in the camps.
782 It is necessary, however, that the dead animal be put to good
796 use; otherwise anus, pecas, and pigs will attack clearings,
destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamîka it is necessary
532 to give a feast, naturally marked, which they attend incognito.
After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the
strange comes.

825 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
664 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
redundant.
776

If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Alycetes) is killed, it
must be paid for, says the piaki; if the macaco Coatá /spider
monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/212 cont./

829 The idea of "Lord" appears often, but it is not easy to
996 understand what it means. When a Bacairi states that the white
825 man is the lord of the mirror, naturally he means that he first saw this object in the hands of the Carahibas. What does he actually mean, however, when he states that the lord of the rain is the parakeet?

996 It also seems natural that, if certain things have lords, the latter be paid or granted some token of respect or homage. Only one such case is mentioned, however; those who make hammocks, before using them, sing them outside the house as homage to the Council /Koenoko/, lord of hammocks, so that their hair will not turn white. A story about a great cataclysm brought about by the death of the newt, lord of the wind, is also told.

In view of all this, the following list of lords is of minor interest, since it will only be of use if new comparative data become available:

996 The lizard is the lord of sleepwalkers, the lord of fire,
825 the parakeet, of rain; the newt, of wind; the curiango /Caprimulgus/, of the fishing hook; the crabs is lord of the beauty; the sea snail, of the nets; the saracura, of the fishing nets; the lamp, of the bagunde (a type of basket); the ega (a kind of lizard), of the grater; the parrakeet is lord of thorns; the kingfisher, lord of fish; the cannibal, lord of smoke and also of the burnt nets; the deer is lord of the manioca, etc.

825 /213/ This shows that the Bacairi does not make a very
996 great distinction between human beings and animals. For
196 "to wish" they use two words: ueyi, first person, which is applied to an animal raised by a human being; and eneyuke, a generic term, simply the plural of aneyi, which means "who" and "someone." There is nothing strange about this, considering that human beings and animals have shadows and speak in the same fashion.

824 The trees also have shadows and speak.

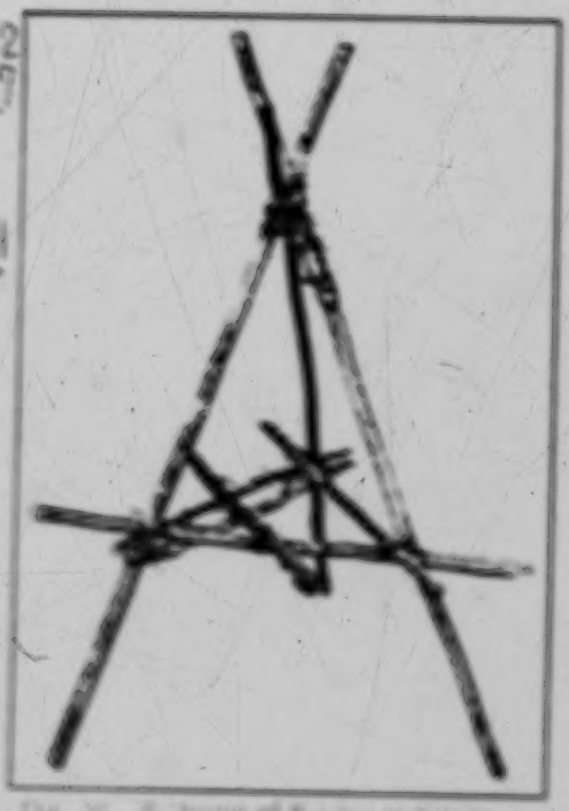
824
S39

/273 cont./

The captains of the trees spoke first, the piahi relates; the yellow trumpetbush, the red trumpetbush, the jatobá, the copaiba, the pau de marcenga spoke. the piahi relates--alli! let us all go, let us ripen our leaves, said the jatobá, the piahi relates; yes, let us do it, Captain, said his people, the piahi relates; when they said this, the leaves of the trees all ripened, the piahi relates; when the leaves were completely ripe, they spoke again, the piahi relates; alli! let us drop our leaves, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush, said the jatobá, the piahi relates; when the captain spoke, they all responded, the piahi relates; when they spoke again, all the leaves of the trees fell, the piahi relates; when they had all fallen, their captains spoke, the piahi relates; alli! let us flower, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush and the copaiba, the piahi relates; when the copaiba and the trumpetbush spoke, their people responded, all of us, yes, we shall do so, Captain, his people said, the piahi relates; when they said this, all the trees flowered, the piahi relates; -- then they all flowered the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush spoke, the piahi relates; now let us all drop our flowers, my people, said their captains, the piahi relates; yes, we shall do so, Captain, said their people, the /274/ piahi relates; when they said this, all the flowers of the trees fell, the piahi relates; let us go, let us bear fruit, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush, said the red trumpetbush, the piahi relates; when they spoke, they sprouted branches, they bore fruits, the piahi relates; the rubber tree, the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush, the jacareuba, the tarumarana da mata bore seeds, the piahi relates; when their seeds burst, the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush spoke, the piahi relates; let us go, now let us burst our seeds, my people, said their captains, the piahi relates; yes, we are doing so, Captain, said their people, the piahi relates; when they said this, at the time of bursting, they drank, the piahi relates; when they spoke, all the seeds of the trees burst, the piahi relates; when

/274 cont./
824 539 the seeds burst, they spoke once more, the piahi relaxes; let us all go, now let us grow! said their captains, the piahi relaxes.

This was not the only occasion when the trees spoke, says the piahi: (kâra-une neiã-ba cé uzyéli, wéehe piahi).



/Dwellings./

The Bakairi sleep in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber. Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet consisted upon manioc, pequi, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. However, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other animals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and pequi. Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

The occupants of a communal house worked together on the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting generally depended on the participation of all the aldeia. When beginning a new clearing, the Bakairi would give a feast, namely, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked on the fields. The Bakairi maize comes from the bark of the pounded ear, in the Kuiguaio way. This construction, as well as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accompanied by propitiatory rituals.

Their products were bartered among neighboring groups in the course of visits called tuiái which depended on the presence of the chiefs of both aldeias. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tuiape.

/Chief./ The Bakairi were not a warlike people, and their political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each aldeia had a chief, puna, assisted by a subchief, ináipe. The Bakairi do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the ináipe was made by means of agreement of the aldeia, but it generally fell on the son of the puna himself. The puna's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and pacifical.

/2nd cont./

About three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /2nd/ marriage. Marriage, tedohoidinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and adorned in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the close relatives remained seated and from which they emerged through the unbending feat.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamiku, ugnatu, kamui, kadegu, and kilaimo. (1) Plants and animals were nothing but

1. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamiku and kadegu. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamiku deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, kamui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their medicine-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that man had two souls: one called [illegible] or iamiku, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a cautious [illegible] would call, iapatapu, a more fluid element that

[P 76-B]

wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

As the Bawait were extensive travelers and depended upon fish for a considerable part of their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bawait canoe (pipi) was made from the bark of the jaiohk tree. The tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. Bawait canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jaiohk bark are used by the Bawait today and are the predominant type among the Indians of the Upper Xingú. The Bawait also made large pots out of jaiohk bark which were used as settling vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bawait formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. For hunting, they used a bow (tähe), round or slightly oval in cross section and from 1 to 1½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in coal. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbaúba bark. Arrows (pirähi) were made from cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no feathers. The cutting tools of the Bawait consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bone, and shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

While living on the banks of the Kuluene River, the Bawait, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (waptü) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the skirt. Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

and was combed with a comb (*nahijé*) made by weaving slender cane teeth into a cotton holder.

Although clothing, in the strict sense of the term, was nonexistent, the Jívaroan used, on ceremonial occasions, beautiful, skillfully made ornaments. An important ornament was the *ezipa*, a diadem or feather headdress strapped to the forehead. The *ezipa* was made by fastening a row of green parrot feathers to a cotton band, above which was fastened another row of yellow oropendola bird feathers. Two long blue macaw feathers were set in the center so as to stand straight up above the forehead. The *ezipa* was worn only by men. These headdresses are still used; for some were seen in the village of Simón Lopez.

There were at least four kinds of necklaces. The *nayantawa* was made from small thin round disks of white or pink snail shell, as many as 400 being strung on a string. This necklace was worn around the neck by women and around the waist by men and girls. The *shushtáwa* was also made from snail shell, but the disks were oblong with holes in both ends through which strings were passed. Although the *shushtáwa* was particularly used by men, women sometimes wore it together with the *nayantawa*. The *uwaishpi* was a necklace made from black disks of tucuma palm nut and could be worn by both men and women at all times. Both men and women also wore necklaces made from the teeth or claws of the jaguar called the *kashpíri*. The Jívaroan still use the *nayantawa*, *shushtáwa*, and the *uwaishpi*.

Besides necklaces, the Jívaroan used a variety of other ornaments. The *upumpi* were armlets and anklets of cotton material decorated with feathers of different colors. The armlets, which were about 2 inches wide, were fastened tightly above the biceps and were believed necessary for the development of the muscle, while similar bands were below the knee and around the ankles. Both men and women used the bands. An American missionary who experimented with Jívaroan arm bands claimed that they caused him a great deal of distress but he has observed no ill effects among the Indians. The *pai* was a feather ear ornament made from red toucan and yellow parrot feathers suspended from the lobes of the ears. Holes in the ears were made with a sharpened jaguar bone or with a sharpened cane feather. The *tajishma*, worn only by men, consisted of two blue macaw feathers

gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted corn.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the kashi. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted corn or pieces of corn to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the kashi the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man to man asking for a song leader. The man who took the offered corn husk then began the gamelatin, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bassari and how it made the people strong and healthy.

The rimaghin, or ear-piercing ceremony, was performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced and the puberty song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred Bata tunes.

The malakaweri was performed during cooperative house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

The custom of distributing cotton by a woman with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the women sang and danced the gamelatwa. This